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If individual freedom is the American ideal, then the common practice of universal education only through secondary school is inadequate. As a matter of policy, the nation should accept the responsibility of providing all citizens with at least some form of further education that contributes toward freeing the mind. In considering future policies and facilities, the proper question to ask is "Whom can the society, in conscience and self-interest, exclude?" Although personal awareness cannot be completely achieved by years of college, it doesn't seem possible to promote self-sustaining progress toward intellectual freedom in less than that. With increased expenditures for higher education, the public will likely insist that subjects in the curriculum be useful. Because general education aimed at developing conceptual thinking has more lasting utility than training in specific skills which soon become obsolete, the theoretical aspects of all courses should be emphasized. To enhance the curriculum's sensitivity to individual growth, the faculty must be of high quality. Steps should be taken to obtain more teachers who are generalists and who value teaching, and to raise their status both by increasing salaries and defending intellectual values to the outside society. Better preparation for college can be facilitated by effective communication between secondary and college levels and by public understanding and support. Opportunities for education should be both flexible and readily accessible. Being nonselective, these 2-year colleges will be public, but various financing measures for students are still needed. (JS)

Universal Opportunity for Education Beyond the High School

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION

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THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION

Of the National Education Association of the United States
and the American Association of School Administrators

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Foreword

That every American should receive education through the high school has long been a national goal. In this regard, the United States has been pacesetter for the world. Yet, as America approaches this goal, it becomes apparent that it is not enough to meet present and future demands. The Educational Policies Commission proposes that the nation now raise its sights to make available at least two years of further education, aimed primarily at intellectual growth, for all high school graduates.

This statement sets forth why the Commission proposes this policy and what the nation must do to put it into effect.

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The Objective

Freedom has many facets. It includes the freedom to think and speak, to choose and influence one's government, to worship as one pleases, to earn and own property and decide its disposition, to go unmolested while observing the laws. It is usually guaranteed or at least expressed by legal provisions.

But for the individual, freedom cannot be achieved by legal provisions alone. It is, in the deepest sense, a personal quality, a quality which can be approached but never fully achieved.

The man who is really free is capable of basing his choices and actions on understandings which he himself achieves and on values which he embraces for himself. He is aware of the bases on which he accepts propositions as true. He understands the values by which he lives, the assumptions on which they rest, and the consequences to which they lead. He recognizes that others have different values. He is aware of irrational forces, of the power of emotions and environment, over himself and over others He is capable of analyzing situations in which he finds himself and of developing rational solutions to the problems before him.

A man is free, then, in the degree to which he has a rational grasp of himself, his surroundings, and the relations between himself and his surroundings. The main restrictions to freedom

are prejudice and ignorance. It is in this sense that a person without some degree of intellectual sophistication, though he may be free to think, speak, and act as he pleases, is not free.

The rational dimension has always been an integral part of the ideal of freedom. But today, as life and the knowledge of life grow in complexity, the ideal is increasingly a practical necessity for both individual and society. The ability to keep a job in a rapidly developing technology or to make the decisions required of responsible citizenship and parenthood increasingly requires an advanced command of rational processes. Through the free use of these processes, man is growing rapidly in his understanding and control of the world. Although the rational powers provide the means to destroy as well as to create, to enslave as well as to liberate, they have proved to be man's most potent resource.

Thus, there are both idealistic and practical reasons for ensuring that all persons have an opportunity to achieve the mental development which will free their minds. But a man's mind is only potentially his own. Freedom is not an automatic achievement. It exists only for the individual who, by his own efforts, makes it real. For most people the society must stimulate and assist those efforts. Its primary agent is the school. The school at each level must help each person to realize his potential for freedom by developing his rational powers.

But much of the mental development that freedom requires is beyond the maturity attained by most adolescents. For the adolescent, unchallenged assumptions and blind loyalties frequently serve as anchors in an uncertain, changing world. As one's life enlarges from the boundaries of family and school, as his responsibilities increase and his body changes, he needs a new basis for relating securely to the world and for preserving the sense of importance which he may no longer feel as an individual. Loyalty to a group of friends and to their ways gives him that

basis. Thus much of his conformity and many of his biases are developed to meet real needs and, as their preservation in many adults would indicate, are difficult to abandon.

As the student rises above the insecurities of early growth and adolescence, he should be more able to look clearly at himself and the world. With new confidence in his own powers, he no longer needs to rely so heavily on traditions or groups. Genuine independence, based on knowledge of self and the world rather than on unreasoned conformity or blind rebellion, now becomes possible. Conscious freedom is within his grasp.

It is within his grasp, but he may fail to reach for it. Progress toward freedom is difficult at best, even for those who choose to seek it. But many persons do not so choose; at this point of great promise in their lives, they cease significant progress toward freedom. Significant growth toward awareness of self and the world is time consuming and essentially introspective. It presupposes considerable learning and reflection. It can therefore be halted if one fails to find the intellectual stimulus which further progress requires or if other goals, such as earning a living, pre-empt the field.

Intellectual resources are plentiful in much of the United States. Virtually every community has museums, libraries, and programs of adult education through which motivated students can make progress in the rational dimensions. But most young people are unlikely to pursue, on their own, a serious, consistent development of their ability to think. They need an environment specifically designed to foster that pursuit—the environment of formal education. Here they can develop a critical understanding of the attitudes and beliefs which have guided them and of the sources of bias, distortion, and rigidity. Here an important element in their daily lives is association with persons whose lives are dedicated to the increase of understanding. Here progress

toward understanding can be the major criterion of success, and the primary tool is an open and ranging mind.

Not all that goes by the name *education,* of course, is a contribution to freedom. Education can be so conducted as to cause people to adhere to a given point of view, to prevent them from questioning certain tenets or certain leaders, to make them unthinking but useful servants to the state, or otherwise to enslave them. Or, less perniciously, in institutions not intent on fostering any given dogma, education may still make little contribution to the student's freedom and even less to his desire for such freedom.

As a result the world has ample evidence of highly educated persons who have been flagrantly unreasonable and unthinking either in general or in particular fields and circumstances. There is equally ample evidence that education can move people toward freedom and that, indeed, the movement of a person toward freedom necessarily consists of educational experiences to which one is subjected in the ordinary course of life or in a specially provided environment. But the ordinary course of life cannot be relied upon to promote the ability to think well any more than the ability to read well. A specific environment is therefore preferable. That environment is usually called a college.

It follows that, if the goal of freedom, as it has been defined here, is valid for every American citizen, the American ideal of universal education through the secondary school is inadequate.

The goal of universal secondary education is now more than two thirds of the way toward achievement in the United States. But education beyond the high school is still considered to be selective. The public has traditionally assumed a responsibility for making further education available to those best able to profit from college education as it is traditionally conceived. On occasion the nation has actively induced individuals in certain categories to seek more education, as in the college programs of the armed services

in or after both world wars. Widespread public respect for higher education has influenced an increasing number of people to go to college. But the nation as a whole has never accepted the idea of universal opportunity as applying to education beyond the high school. It is time to do so.

This is not to say that all types of higher education should become universal. Selectivity will obviously be maintained in professional and technological education and in private colleges. But forms of further education which contribute to the freeing of the mind must somehow be opened to all.

Unless opportunity for education beyond the high school can be made available to all, while at the same time increasing the effectiveness of the elementary and secondary schools, then the American promise of individual dignity and freedom cannot be extended to all. Increasingly those persons who establish for themselves a life of independent dignity are those whose minds have been developed by such education. In the future, the important question needs to be not "Who deserves to be admitted?" but "Whom can the society, in conscience and self-interest, exclude?"

A person cannot justly be excluded from further education unless his deficiencies are so severe that even the most flexible and dedicated institution could contribute little to his mental development. There is reason to expect that most persons capable of completing the studies of an American high school are also capable of further growth toward a free mind. It is true that many pupils fail to complete high school and that many others seem unpromising candidates for further learning. The fault may lie with the pupil, the school, the family, or all of them. But the nation seems increasingly determined to raise the level of real opportunity for all. As measures are taken to this end and as research and experience improve the quality of education, the per-

centage of the population completing high school and capable of significant further intellectual development should continue to rise.

The additional time required for such learning cannot be stated precisely or uniformly for all. The time required will certainly vary as schools and society change. But current educational practices provide some guidelines. Many four-year colleges today devote the first two years of their program to general education, with specialized education initiated in the third year. Junior colleges offer two years of general education to students who then leave school or turn to specialized study. In this two-year period, many students advance significantly toward awareness of self and the world.

Obviously, the level of personal development here described is not completely achieved at the end of two years of college—or at any other time. However, it does not seem possible under present conditions to promote self-sustaining progress toward this goal for most people in less than two years beyond the high school.

Therefore, the nation's goal of universal educational opportunity must be expanded to include at least two further years of education, open to any high school graduate, and designed to move each student toward intellectual freedom.

The following chapters deal with implications of this policy of universalizing education beyond the high school.

Curriculum

As education beyond the high school becomes more universal, most of the forces that have traditionally shaped curriculums will remain. But some of them will intensify, and new forces will arise. One change is likely to be a greater public insistence on utility in the college programs of many students.

The vastly enlarged enrollments in higher education tomorrow will have to be accommodated largely in publicly supported institutions. Even more than now, it will be necessary to demonstrate that the increased public expenditures serve the public good. Today many subjects remain in the curriculum because they are traditional, but as time goes on the chief justification will have to be that they are useful. It is therefore important that the nature of what is really useful be understood.

Traditionally, "useful" education has been identified as that which equips the student for specific employment. Such a concept of utility underlay the federal statutes which established the land-grant colleges, agricultural extension services, vocational education programs, and many others. Each of these programs assumed that a person successfully trained in specific skills would find ways to utilize those skills for a considerable period to his own and the society's betterment. With the passage of time, this assumption becomes less valid.

In an accelerating technology, almost any specific skill is apt to become obsolescent. The training required for vocations trends upward as jobs become more complex and call for ever more general skills. Even technicians whose work is regarded as subprofessional increasingly require mastery not only of a group of skills but also of their theoretical aspects. Thus, even for purposes of employment, the individual needs to bridge the gap between the abstract and the practical by acquiring the general and transferable skills and knowledge which will serve him in many contexts.

General knowledge and understanding are increasingly necessary in other aspects of life as well. The citizen who can make intelligent decisions is the citizen who can understand and interrelate diverse kinds of experience and who is motivated and able to go on learning all his life.

Therefore, the education which is most useful equips one to attack complex new problems and to acquire complex new skills throughout a lifetime. The old struggle between practical and liberal education is less significant as the ability for abstract thinking becomes the key to both and as a rising level of liberal education becomes prerequisite to training in more and more special fields.

Although a discouraging amount remains to be learned about how to develop the ability to think, enough is known to specify some characteristics of good programs. Of these insights, none exceeds in importance—for all that it is commonly overlooked—the certainty that there is no single or certain road to thought. No subject or group of subjects guarantees the development of the ability to think. But the teaching of almost all subjects can—and should—be designed to develop the tendency and ability to define problems as well as to solve them, to relate a fact or idea to others in new and significant ways, to apply specialized knowledge to more general situations. The teaching of almost all subjects can

be designed to develop awareness of the values by which one lives and the consequences to which those values lead; to develop awareness of the bases upon which one accepts propositions as true; to develop the ability to communicate, to handle concepts, and to understand the methods of inquiry used in the various areas; to help the student understand the power of the rational and the power of the irrational in human life.

Some subjects aim more directly than others at one or more of these goals. Philosophy can lead the student to evaluate and perhaps even modify some of the basic assumptions and values which will guide his life. History and political science can give new meaning to the political and social institutions around him, they can lead him to consider his own social behavior by studying the behavior of others, and they can give him the background of knowledge and method for such thinking. English composition can help the student organize the expression of his own thoughts and feelings; literature can illustrate the scope and profundity of human thoughts and feelings and the variety of ways in which they are communicated. Foreign languages can help provide a sense of the arbitrariness, strengths, and limitations of the symbols upon which man largely depends for his thought, communication, and even perception and which make civilization possible. Music and painting can be exercizes in perceiving elements of form within the abstract, and for analyzing what it is in art that is pleasing to man. Physical and natural sciences can introduce the student to ways in which a scientist imposes order on the world and distinguishes the objective from the subjective; they can provide a foundation of theory that will help the student understand the new ideas and forces likely to affect his world in the future. The study of mathematics and the sciences can also open to the student the world of inferred structures, like atomic particles, which he will never perceive with his senses yet which may be as significant in his life as the world of his direct experiences.

Study of these disciplines *can* have these liberating results and has the greatest and most lasting value when it does. College instructors sometimes fail to foster these results, however, and some high school graduates are ill equipped for studies at a highly abstract level. Some, for example, are interested only in courses directly related to a chosen career. Others go to college primarily to enhance their social status and are scarcely motivated to intellectual exertion. Still others have failed to overcome the effects of a home environment that is prejudicial to intellectual advancement. Although improvements in elementary and secondary education should increase consistently the number of successful students, for the forseeable future significant numbers of college applicants are likely to be deficient, by traditional criteria, in motivation and achievement.

The effort must be made, however, for all who choose to continue their education beyond the high school, to arouse interest in intellectual matters and to foster self-awareness. A young person who firmly intends to be a physician may see little reason to study philosophy. A required course in the systems of a few great philosophers may have little impact on him. But consideration of the potential social, ethical, and professional implications of advances in genetics, biochemistry, or cybernetics may fascinate him. Similarly, business administration may be related to business ethics, merchandising to economic theory, salesmanship to problems of communication, practical electronics to larger concepts of physical science. The student of automotive repair can be brought, under the leadership of a creative and knowledgeable teacher, to consider the impact on his employment of the general introduction of the gas turbine. Through this awareness of major changes in his own field, he can consider the general forces playing on the automotive industry. By this route, a person initially unprepared for the study of economics, or uninterested in it, can be brought to considerable economic insight and to an awareness of economic

relationships. It is to these ends that a college may justly offer directly vocational subjects, and the decision to offer them should depend on whether such courses are necessary in the given community for universalization of the college's enrollment.

Therefore, the central reality of the curriculum which extends the mind and develops rationality is its concern with the individual student and his mental growth. It is possible that under current conditions many high school graduates cannot in two short years achieve the likelihood of being aware and thoughtful persons for a lifetime. But except in cases of severe retardation, there is no sure way of predicting an applicant's incapacity, particularly in an institution which is flexible in its offerings and methods and possesses adequate guidance services. It is in the greatest interest of the student and of the society that there be many such institutions. Still more important is the attention to pre-elementary, elementary, and secondary education which will make all students increasingly capable of progress toward intellectual freedom.

Details of the flexible college curriculum would obviously depend upon conditions within the institution and the needs of the student. But the necessary sensitivity to the individual student cannot come from curriculum plans alone. It requires a staff of high quality.

Faculty

The old problem of recruiting and retaining a faculty of high quality will intensify as general education beyond the high school becomes universal. Many methods are being tried to expand teaching resources. Television is being used to bring presentations by adept teachers to large groups. Programmed instruction through automatic teaching devices shows promise of ability to transmit subject matter and free teachers for more personal contact with students. In some cases, responsibility for directing some classes has been given to the students themselves, with beneficial results on students' learning. All of these devices are promising, but they are workable only with students who are highly motivated and willing to accept responsibility.

The simplest way of adjusting to the growing shortage of college teachers is simply to increase the number of students per teacher. One of the irreplaceable advantages of the good teacher is his ability, in proper teaching conditions, to give personal attention appropriate to the moment's needs to each student. As numbers of students per teacher increase, this advantage tends to decline. There is general agreement that personal interchange between the student and a qualified instructor is an essential part of the learning process. The student is helped by having somebody observe and respond to him. Particularly is this true of the student

who is little motivated and unwilling to accept responsibility, and the number of such students will probably increase. As more students continue their education beyond the high school, the need for motivating students and the difficulty of doing it increase. For most students the rational powers develop best under the guidance and example of an expert, responsive, flexible teacher who is himself committed to the search for truth.

Thus the value of devices like television and programmed instruction is not the prospect they offer of solving the teacher shortage but their contribution to the quality of instruction. As their use spreads, the basic problem will remain.

When education beyond the high school embraces more of the population, more colleges will face the problem which the high schools are still struggling to solve. As the high school became universal, the range of students' learning, readiness, ability, and interest increased, and teachers found it necessary to vary their approaches more than ever. Similarly, in many colleges the levels of knowledge, understanding, and motivation previously considered appropriate have already proved too low for many students and too high for many others. The college teacher who derives satisfaction from helping students of high ability to achieve a considerable grasp of an academic field will be increasingly in demand as time passes. But with the trend toward universalization the greatest percentage increase in college enrollments will consist of the less prepared and less motivated high school graduates. At best it will take years of improvement in the school, the community, and the economy to solve this problem. Therefore, nonselective colleges will, for the forseeable future, need many teachers dedicated less to the creation of specialists and more to the advancement of each student regardless of his ability—less to the student already interested in the teacher's particular specialty than to the student whose interest in the general field needs to be aroused.

In other words, more college teachers should consider teaching their primary concern. But there are serious obstacles in many colleges to development of that attitude.

Insufficient emphasis on teaching is commonly ascribed to an assumed conflict between the role of the teacher and the role of the scholar. Ideally, scholarship and teaching reinforce each other. The college teacher who cannot be called a scholar is hardly fit to teach. A teacher must be aware of the changing facts and concepts in the content of the courses which he teaches, and he must engage in the interpretation of research findings. In most fields this requires constant and competent scholarship. Attempts by the teacher to further knowledge through creative scholarship also play an important part in the educational program of many students and can contribute to the power of learning experiences for most students. Scholarship, including the ability to conduct and interpret research and to add to the total of knowledge, is therefore one valid criterion for the choice and promotion of faculty members. But in nonselective institutions, respect for all students and the desire to teach them are perhaps more pertinent criteria, though more difficult to judge. As is the case in many junior colleges today, the services of the competent teacher must in all public colleges be as genuinely valued—and rewarded—as those of the researcher.

Yet even in junior colleges, teaching tends to suffer from another widespread defect of college education—the wall between subjects. This defect becomes manifest in a faculty which attempts to provide an integrated general-education curriculum. Here the teacher's task is to widen the boundaries of his discipline—to bring to play on it matters from other areas in which the students are engaged. He must understand and be able to communicate the relationship between his field and other areas of learning and life. He must recognize the value of many other areas of learning. The

subject specialist may find it difficult to meet these needs. Given the choice between teaching in a specific discipline and teaching in an integrated general field, he is likely to choose the former. He will see in the specific field not only more rapid advancement but also greater academic respectability.

The general-education faculty should comprise people who have mastered their discipline and try to keep abreast of it but do not seek primarily to explore its narrow specialties. In large universities which accommodate both general education and highly specialized study, it may be desirable to engage two separate faculties, each staffed with kinds of teachers appropriate to it and each rewarding its teachers on the appropriate bases.

The graduate school is the usual training ground of college teachers. It is therefore a clear obligation of these schools to identify the marks of a good teacher and to develop them in their students. Students must be prepared, for example, to teach their subjects as part of an integrated curriculum, to adjust their teaching to the needs of individual students, and to view their subjects not merely as impressive accumulations of knowledge but as potential contributions to the ability of young people to think. In many fields the appropriate programs may be little different from present doctoral programs; in others a distinct graduate program for college teachers may be needed. Graduate faculties should bear in mind also that the example of their own teaching practices will probably be reflected in the future teaching practices of their students.

Several other conditions reinforce some college teachers' disregard of teaching or divert their attention from it. For example, even after several years of graduate study and teaching, it is likely to be several more years before a young teacher will have the secure knowledge that he has a permanent position. In the interim he may be hesitant to experiment with new ways of teaching, and he may be hampered in identifying his interests with those of the

institution and the community. It is right that the young teacher should be required to prove himself, but the proof should depend on standards appropriate to his job as a teacher. He should be permitted the right of experimenting with teaching, including the right to make, recognize, and correct mistakes.

An equally important barrier to effective teaching is the difference between the social and economic status of most teachers and their intellectual level. If the teacher seems to hold a position of little esteem in society, his concerns may seem unimportant to many students. Students may then see a contrast between him and "real" life. They may consider him interesting in his way but, after all, irrelevant.

An important responsibility of college governing boards and administrators should therefore be to raise the status of the faculty. This can be partially accomplished in society's own terms—by working for higher faculty salaries and encouraging faculty members to gain positions of leadership in society. But the problem cannot really be solved until the values of the society are themselves modified, until there is a greater respect for the values which the college represents. It is therefore the responsibility of the college to promote dedication to truth and intellectual freedom among students and in society at large and to defend those values whenever they are under attack.

Relation To Earlier Learning

The ability of college students to progress toward independent and self-motivated thinking depends in large part on their preparation. This dependence on earlier schooling will increasingly be impressed on the nonselective colleges as education beyond the high school becomes universal and, in particular, as they enroll more students from disadvantaged home and community backgrounds. To help the elementary and secondary schools to improve their capabilities is therefore one of the most important steps a college can take to improve its own program.

A most important need in this regard is for effective communication between secondary and college education. Too often the autonomy which each level enjoys is confused with indifference to the needs of youth as they progress through other levels of education. Until such attitudes are modified, progress in the substantive problems of coordination will be slow.

Improvement of communication and coordination between these levels of education has sometimes been sought through administrative unification. Particularly where a group of high schools feeds into a single junior college, it might seem reasonable to assume that articulation would be most effective if all were under a single administration; that is, if the junior college and the high schools were governed by one agency. Yet there is no guar-

antee that unified administration will always produce coordination, and it must be admitted that coordination can be achieved without such unified control.

In some places universal opportunities for further education may take the form of two-year or four-year colleges under the control of existing or separate public school districts. In others, they may be colleges of various types controlled by state agencies. In still others, local expansion may be administered as a part of the state university system. All these patterns and others may be equally valid.

Two generally applicable recommendations can be made, however. First is that each state must assure that the opportunity for at least two years of college education is reasonably accessible to all high school graduates wherever they may live in the state. Second, regardless of administrative arrangements, a working spirit of cooperation must bind school and college. Many colleges have tried consistently to improve their preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers. But another potential contribution of institutions for education beyond the high school, including those which do not prepare teachers, has been relatively neglected. It lies in the area of public relations and can be illustrated by reference to the problem of developing writing skills in students.

The ability to write can best be furthered by frequent guided practice in writing, the students' compositions being carefully considered by their teachers. There are obviously limits to the number of compositions which a teacher can consider adequately in any given period of time, correcting them, criticizing them, and discussing them in order to improve each pupil's work in content, creativity, and style. Yet teachers of English composition normally have so many pupils that they must choose between inadequate criticism and inadequate practice. As a result, some students fail to develop crucially important skills in writing, and their failing

is passed on from year to year, becoming ever more intractable. The college is then forced to spend an inordinate amount of energy to develop skills which should have been developed earlier and to cure defects which have become ingrained.

The problem cannot be resolved by criticizing the high school faculty or administration. It stems from the failure of the society to give schools the support needed to do their job properly. An effective approach would call for building an understanding in the community of the high schools' financial needs. In building that understanding, the college faculty and administration might mobilize the resources they use for making their own needs known. Little they could do would redound as directly to their own benefit.

The high school can help pupils to develop intense intellectual interests and skills in methods of inquiry. It can thus stimulate the intellectual inclinations and skills which college teachers, often accurately, believe to be lacking in their students. When it succeeds, it is usually because the community has demonstrated its willingness to support good teaching in the public schools. But when the community fails to do its share, the assistance of the college in inspiring the public is needed.

But even students who enter college with a strong intellectual or vocational interest sometimes create by that very fact an obstacle to their own development. They sometimes regard college requirements in areas other than their major interest as forced deviations from what really matters. An intense interest is not necessarily a spur to one's broadest development. Just as the college must be able to justify each requirement it imposes, so no requirement should be scorned by a young student merely on the ground that he wishes to devote his full time to specialized preparation. The student may have made a choice because it seemed more important to him to settle his future early than to settle it wisely. He

may soon sense his unreadiness and become indifferent or even hostile to the path he has chosen. Or, being praised by family and friends for his decisiveness, he may never sense his unreadiness or miss the diversity of attachments which he really needs. In either case he may benefit little from experiences that could have contributed much to his abilities as a rational man, a free citizen, and a permanently contributing member of his chosen vocation. One of the objectives of schools at all levels should be to open new possibilities to students. Students should be encouraged to raise their sights and to continue their preparation wherever it appears they have the capabilities to succeed in occupations of greater challenge than the one for which they may be willing to settle.

Every student should have the joy of discovery in many fields and should learn to think in many fields. It is in the interest of his full development that the elementary and high school develop and preserve a breadth of interest. This can be done if each student is treated as an individual and if decisions as to his course of study recognize his maturity, interests, and achievements as they are. Each student must be challenged at all levels of education, but realistically. To this end, good teaching in many areas is paramount. Again the college can help and thus can facilitate its own task of freeing the mind by working for adequate support of the school program in all disciplines and at all levels.

Just as the student's breadth of interest is important, so is his attitude toward systematic learning. Ideally, the college freshman possesses a genuine respect for the personal satisfaction, dignity, and effectiveness of rational reflection and understanding, and his intellectual standards are stringent. His motivations in study are not merely the need to pass examinations, to get a job, or to engage in the sports or social life to which the student has access.

Here again the nonselective institution is limited by the background of its students. It must cooperate with elementary and secondary schools to improve teaching and teaching materials. It must work with the public to improve financial support of the schools. And it must strive to modify public attitudes, for those attitudes directly affect the attitudes of students. The college should endeavor to develop public awareness of the role of education at all levels in the development of the mind. This awareness should be as much a part of the atmosphere of American life as is respect for comfort, beauty, wealth, or material possessions. It would then be more commonly a part of the real motivation of young people. Colleges could contribute much to the success of their teaching by promoting community respect for the profound mind and community confidence that everyone can develop his mind further.

Few problems in human development have definitive answers today. But a spirit of cooperation in seeking the best answers would be most helpful. Just as much that happens in the college depends on the earlier school experiences of the students, so the college's requirements and expectations profoundly influence what the schools do. Recognition of interdependence between the levels of education is today demonstrated by such arrangements as cooperative development of new high school courses or advanced placement programs. But more general arrangements for the regular discussion of shared problems are needed, beginning at the local level.

Accessibility

It is not enough that opportunities for education beyond the high school be so flexible as to suit the great variation in students. It is necessary also that those opportunities be practicably accessible to all students. Nonselective colleges should exist in every population center, and they should expand their range beyond their immediate environs through radio, television, self-teaching devices, extension programs, and correspondence courses. In sparsely populated areas, adjacent localities should combine to provide a single, well-supported institution.

Secondly, these colleges must operate under controls which ensure that they truly are nonselective; that is, that they will admit for at least two years of general study all high school graduates who apply. Obviously these will be mostly public institutions. Universal education has always meant public education. The great majority of potential students can hope for a thirteenth and fourteenth year of education only in public institutions which the public requires—and permits by means of adequate financial support—to be universal in their admissions policies.

But however close a college may be, and however open its admissions policies, the cost of education remains a severe obstacle to many students. Even tuition-free education costs a considerable sum, in many cases more than the student is willing or able

to bear. If he lives at home, his expenses may seem heavy to him; away from home they may seem impossible.

Ways must be found to alleviate both these burdens—the costs of education and the costs of living. Various methods are now used, or extensions of them proposed.

It has been argued, for example, that if colleges raised their tuition fees they could extend their scholarship programs for needy students. But it is likely that a scholarship fund financed by tuition payments would quickly run into deficit in a system of universal education. Even for this reason alone, scholarships would necessarily follow the tradition of being distributed on a selective basis. They therefore could not meet the need of universalizing opportunities.

Another traditional and large-scale solution to the problem of student finance has been student employment. Whatever its virtues, the need to work enough to provide any large portion of college expense at the very least places an obstacle before the student and probably deters many potential students from applying to college.

In recent years the use of student loans to finance education has expanded, partly under the stimulus of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. As with employment, the necessity to borrow is certainly a barrier for those students who are reluctant to go into debt.

Colleges, banks, insurance companies, foundations, and governmental agencies have found ways to stimulate and facilitate savings programs of families with children who one day will go to college. A further suggestion has been a special government savings bond which can be cashed at a special interest rate only by a bona fide college student. Another proposal has been to permit deduction of tuition payments in reporting income for

tax purposes, and this proposal could conceivably be extended to include other educational expenses.

These measures would reduce the financial burden or spread it over time, but they do not go to the heart of the need. They persist in limiting a youth's chances for self-fulfillment according to his financial resources.

The clear requirement is for a public policy that the thirteenth and fourteenth years of education in public colleges be free of cost to the student, because it is in the interest of the nation that the abilities of each person be developed through education up to this level. Not only must there be no tuition charges, but if there is to be equal educational opportunity for youth, the student who has no public college close by must be provided with transportation to and from the nearest one or with the means of living away from home.

The arguments usually advanced in favor of charging for education beyond the high school are found upon examination to be specious. It is said, for example, that because higher education results in greater income for individuals, they should pay for the privilege. This argument overlooks another basic reality: that this additional education serves not only the individual but also the society in general. Individuals should therefore be encouraged, not discouraged, in seeking further education. Moreover, a person who earns more income also pays more tax, and a proportionately greater share as his income rises. In other words, most persons whose incomes rise as a result of advanced education *do* pay the cost of that education in the form of higher taxes. The Veterans Administration has suggested that the G.I. Bills of Rights—the largest and most generous scholarship programs ever undertaken by the national government—ended up costing the people nothing; the beneficiaries have paid back in increased taxes more than they received in benefits.

A serious obstacle to universal accessibility of education beyond the high school, in addition to the financial one, is the different timing which many women adopt in seeking education. While the tendency of American youth to go to college has, in general, been increasing, the age of marriage has been decreasing for women. Making a home becomes the primary concern of life for half of the nation's women before age 21. Before or during the years when they might otherwise be in college, they frequently work to support their home and their husband's studies or are occupied full-time in caring for their children.

Early marriage, whatever its other advantages or drawbacks, is certainly an obstacle to the pursuit of education in the years following graduation from high school. Because this interruption is so common, it poses a problem which must be faced. Women need to develop their rational powers fully as much as men. They, too, must be capable of the understandings and skills that make life full and citizenship real. Increasingly they too need or wish at some time in their lives to be employed usefully outside the home. In fact, since much of their useful working lifetime will occur after a long interval of child rearing, vocational education during their growth is likely to be even more inadequate to their needs than to those of men. They have particular need for developing those rational powers which have enduring practicality.

If the timing of women's education is a special problem, it is only because of the American—indeed, world-wide—tradition that organized education through college normally takes place consecutively. Great holes have been opened in the armor of this tradition by the growth of adult education, by the in-service education opportunities in various professions, by the G.I. Bills of Rights, and by the increasing number of business executives returning to campuses for further study. All of these develop-

ments are to be welcomed. Recently, some colleges and graduate schools have developed programs specially designed for women who wish to return for further education, even part time, after years of child rearing.

It can be assumed that, as time passes, the need for higher education will lure back to study increasing percentages of those who, when younger, did not choose to stay in school or were unable to go on. These will include both men and women: the housewife who has free time when her children go to school, the youth who enlisted in the armed forces and who now sees value in further study, the worker who has learned through hard experience the value of further education, the adult immigrant who lacks the education that he has learned he needs.

The maturity gained during the years away from school may enable these people to be better students than they once were. But many of them will need even more help than the new high school graduates if they are to continue their studies.

Therefore, colleges, employers, and labor unions should encourage and facilitate the return of such people to school for completion of at least the thirteenth and fourteenth years. The colleges can provide a major part of the encouragement needed by generous provision of educational guidance and reorientation. Employers and labor unions should recognize devices like granting seniority accrual for post-high-school study, providing scholarships, and including additional education among the fringe benefits considered in contract negotiations. And government and business should expand part-time openings to enable students to maintain some income.

Finance

Even if universalization were not to become a general policy, the coming years would put much strain on the financing of education beyond the high school. Estimates based on a simple extrapolation of present trends place the 1970 college population at somewhere between 6 and 7 million students compared with the present population of about 4 million. Expenditures in 1970 (excluding capital outlay, board and room, and auxiliary enterprises and assuming no further inflation) would rise to somewhere around 10 billion dollars as opposed to 3.8 billion dollars in 1957-58.

The number of young persons graduating from high school and going to college has been rising rapidly in the years since World War II. High school graduation has been increasing at an average rate of about 1.5 percent per year, and it lies now at about 65 percent of the eligible age group. The percentage of high school graduates going on for degrees in higher education has also been rising at a rate of about one percent per year. The number of new admissions for degree credit in the fall of 1963 was about 58 percent of the number of high school graduates of the preceding spring. If these trends are extended for a decade it will mean that 80 percent of a whole age group will graduate from high school, and nearly 70 percent of them will seek further

education. The numbers involved in such extrapolations are impressive. With approximately 4 million young Americans in each one-year age group, this would indicate 3.2 million high school graduates annually, of whom upward of 2 million would seek admission to college.

There is no sure way to calculate what would happen if these trends accelerate. It is clear, however, that if the philosophy of universalization here proposed is taken seriously, the society would be close to universal high school graduation within a decade, and enrollments at least in the first two years beyond the high school would stand well above those now contemplated. The existing trends suggest enrollments in the thirteenth and fourteenth years totaling something like 4 million. Given universal opportunity, these figures would be considerably enlarged.

The costs of making possible such opportunities are certain to be high. Efforts to raise funds from every possible source, including private business, will need to be strengthened. The demand for better use of each educational dollar will also increase. For example, vocational and technical training in the thirteenth and fourteenth years will be reviewed in the light of the durability of skills and the costs of this training as compared with the durability and costs of other educational offerings. Private businesses will be expected to provide training for more and more of the specific technical skills they require, just as they assume the cost of the buildings and equipment they use. In the colleges instruction in skills of relatively short utility is bound to yield to instruction in skills having more permanent usefulness.

An equally vigorous scrutiny will extend to every aspect of college practice. There will doubtless be continued efforts to close the gap which permits decisions to be made on academic matters without considering their economic consequences. This is now a field of vigorous administrative experimentation looking

toward new ways to organize classes, eliminate small courses, make more continuous use of college plants, and share the use of resources with other institutions. The effort to effect maximum economy obviously makes sense in light of the economic pressures now developing. Even perfection in efficiency, however, would leave the colleges faced with grave economic problems.

As already noted, the assessment of tuition charges is not an acceptable means of meeting costs, and selectivity in admission is not an acceptable means of keeping costs down. Indeed, public colleges must accept loss of tuition income as a concomitant of universalized opportunity.

The implications of this reasoning for the financing of education beyond the high school are plain. There must be a large increase in financial support. The major share of this increase must come from governments, for society as a whole derives much of the benefit. But this segment of higher education must not be financed at the expense of other aspects of higher education; and it would be self-defeating to finance education beyond the high school at the expense of elementary and secondary education.

At all levels of government there should be an increase in the support of the entire enterprise of education. Each state which has not yet done so should develop a plan for expansion of its entire system of higher education, interrelating the services of various types of institutions and stressing the means for expanding universal opportunities in general education for at least two years beyond the high school. Federal funds should be appropriated in support of these state plans, following the same general principles as should govern federal support of education at other levels.

Conclusion

If individual freedom is the American ideal, if it is increasingly pertinent to the social well-being, the common practice of ending one's education at the high school level cannot be defended. It should be public policy to promote the universalization of educational opportunity beyond the high school. The ideal would not, by this policy, be guaranteed for all Americans, but a large and indispensable step toward it would be taken.

For some Americans the goal of freedom of the mind may today be unrealistic. It may be true that, even with two years beyond the high school, many of them would not raise greatly the level of their thinking. This is usually because severe environmental handicaps have not been overcome. Except in cases of severe retardation or physical damage to the brain, the obstacles to success in relatively abstract studies appear removable. It should be public policy throughout the United States to remove them, so as to promote the circumstances of life which are the rightful heritage of human beings and, in particular, the ability and opportunity to benefit from education beyond the high school. The continuing improvement of elementary and secondary education is therefore vital to everything said in this statement.

The goal of universal education beyond the high school is no more utopian than the goal of full citizenship for all Americans, for the first is becoming prerequisite to the second. If a person is adjudged incapable of growth toward a free mind today, he has been adjudged incapable of the dignity of full citizenship in a free society. That is a judgment which no American conscious of his ideals and traditions can lightly make.